

Message Text

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L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

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P R 182226 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5165

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 07213

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UN, US, UR, UK, FR, GW, WB, GE, PGOV

SUBJECT: UN ENTRY OF TWO GERMAN STATES

REF: STATE 93960

SUMMARY: BONN GROUP DISCUSSION OF UN ENTRY QUESTION ON
MAY 17 COVERED MOST POINTS RAISED IN DEPARTMENT' S
INSTRUCTIONS (REFTEL). FONOFF REP (BLECH) SAID THAT
NO DECISION COULD BE MADE ON TIMING UNTIL THE FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT HAD DECIDED HOW TO REACT TO KOHL' S LATEST
REMARKS (SEE SEPTTEL), BUT THE GERMAN SIDE WAS STILL
INTERESTED IN AN EARLY COMMENCEMENT OF CONSULTATIONS
WITH THE SOVIETS. BLECH AGREED TO RECONSIDER THE GERMAN
OPPOSITION TO POSTPONING SC ACTION UNTIL JULY AND TO
INCLUDING A REFERENCE TO THE QD IN THE SC RESOLUTION,
BUT DOUBTED THAT THERE WOULD BE ANY CHANGE IN HIS
GOVERNMENT' S POSITION. THE UK REP SAID HIS AUTHORITIES
NOW BELIEVED THAT THE REMARKS IN THE SC SHOULD CONTAIN
A REFERENCE TO BERLIN REPRESENTATION. HE PRESENTED A
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DRAFT OF OPERATIVE PORTIONS OF THE SC STATEMENTS FOR
CONSIDERATION BY ALLIED AUTHORITIES. END SUMMARY.

1. TIMING OF SUBMISSION OF APPLICATIONS: BLECH SAID HE WAS NOT SURE HOW THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD REACT TO KOHL' S THREATS IN CONNECTION WITH FRG DESIRE TO DISCUSS ESTABLISHMENT OF MISSIONS (SEPTEL). HE ALSO DID NOT KNOW WHAT TO MAKE OF KOHL' S REMARKS ON THE GDR' S DESIRE TO SUBMIT ITS APPLICATION SEPARATELY. ALL OF THIS DID MEAN, HOWEVER, THAT THE FRG WOULD HAVE TO RECONSIDER ITS HANDLING OF UN APPLICATIONS; BLECH SAID HE WOULD REPORT IN MORE DETAIL NEXT WEEK.

2. THIS US REP REPORTED ON THE CONVERSATION WITH MALIK IN NEW YORK (USUN 1835), NOTING AGAIN THE STRONG PREFERENCE IN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON FOR A DELAY INTO JULY. THE UK REP (CROMARTIE) SAID HIS AUTHORITIES ALSO BELIEVED IT WOULD BE IN OUR INTERESTS TO TRY TO SLOW THINGS DOWN. BLECH SAID HE HAD TAKEN NOTE OF THE ARGUMENTS AND WAS MUCH IMPRESSED BY THE TONE OF THE CONVERSATION WITH MALIK. HOWEVER, THE FRG WOULD CONTINUE TO BE FACED WITH BALANCING ITS DESIRE TO PUT THE BASIC TREATY INTO FORCE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WITH THE GDR WISH TO MOVE RAPIDLY ON UN MEMBERSHIP. BLECH PROMISED TO RAISE THE MATTER ONCE AGAIN WITH HIS AUTHORITIES, BUT UNDER THESE CONDITIONS HE DID NOT THINK THAT THEY WOULD WISH TO RISK DELAYING THE UN MEMBERSHIP PROCEDURE.

3. CONSULTATIONS WITH SOVIETS: BLECH ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT MALIK' S SEEMING LACK OF INFORMATION ON THE UN MEMBERSHIP QUESTION, WHETHER REAL OR IMAGINED, INDICATED THAT THE THREE POWERS SHOULD APPROACH THE SOVIETS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE FOR CONSULTATIONS. BLECH SHARED THE DEPARTMENT' S VIEW THAT THE SOVIET REPS IN NEW YORK SHOULD BE GIVEN AMPLE TIME TO REQUEST INSTRUCTIONS AND THOUGHT THAT THE THREE POWERS SHOULD NOT NECESSARILY WAIT UNTIL A DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN ON TIMING BEFORE MAKING AN INITIAL APPROACH. ALLIED REPS SAID THEY WOULD BE GUIDED BY GERMAN VIEWS ON THIS QUESTION. BLECH PROMISED TO REPORT BACK AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

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4. CONCERNING THE VENUE FOR INITIAL CONTACTS WITH THE SOVIETS, ALLIED AND FRG REPS WERE UNANIMOUS IN THE VIEW THAT THIS APPROACH SHOULD ALSO BE MADE IN NEW YORK AND NOT IN BERLIN OR ELSEWHERE AS PROPOSED BY THE DEPARTMENT. BLECH SAID THAT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD THE FRG WISH TO HAVE THE APPROACH MADE IN BERLIN. THE UK REP (CROMARTIE) THOUGHT THAT THE APPROACH SHOULD BE MADE AT

THE NORMAL WORKING LEVEL IN NEW YORK IN ORDER TO MAKE
CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS THAT ALL WE WERE PROPOSING WAS
INFORMAL COORDINATION ON A SUBJECT WHICH SHOULD PRESENT
NO DIFFICULTIES. THE FRENCH REP (BELLESICZE) POINTED
OUT THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT INTERPRET AN APPROACH IN
MOSCOW OR ELSEWHERE AS INDICATING A MAJOR POLITICAL

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P R 182226 Z MAY 73
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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
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OFFENSIVE BY THE ALLIES. HE AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE BET-
TER TO LIMIT OURSELVES TO NEW YORK.

5. CONCERNING THE CONTENT OF THE CONSULTATIONS, THERE
WAS A CONSENSUS IN FAVOR OF MOVING RELATIVELY FORTH-
RIGHTLY WITH THE SOVIETS AND NOT SPENDING TOO MUCH TIME
BUILDING UP A NEGOTIATING POSITION. THE FRENCH REP
REPEATED THE VIEWS OF HIS AUTHORITIES THAT EARLY IN THE
TALKS THE ALLIES SHOULD PRESENT THE SOVIETS WITH A DRAFT
RESOLUTION AND A DRAFT OF THE SC REMARKS WHICH WOULD
INCLUDE A STATEMENT ON THE REPRESENTATION OF BERLIN. HE
ARGUED THAT ONLY IF WE SHOWED THE SOVIETS FROM THE
BEGINNING THAT THE LANGUAGE WE WERE PROPOSING WAS NON-

CONTROVERSIAL WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE TO HEAD OFF AN OVER-
REACTION FROM THE SOVIET SIDE. THE US REP AGREED THAT
WE SHOULD BE FORTHRIGHT, BUT ARGUED THAT AN INITIAL PRE-
SENTATION WITHOUT PRESENTING DRAFTS WOULD BE USEFUL TO
MAKE CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS THAT WE DID NOT WISH ANY DIF-
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FICULTIES AND THAT WE WISHED TO AVOID TO THE EXTENT POS-
SIBLE MENTION OF CONTROVERSIAL POLITICAL TOPICS. THE FRG
REP AGREED WITH THIS VIEW. THE UK REP SAID HIS
AUTHORITIES WOULD WISH TO PRESENT A DRAFT STATEMENT
FAIRLY EARLY, BUT HE AGREED THAT SOME PRELIMINARIES
WOULD BE NECESSARY. ALLIED AND FRG REPS ALSO AGREED
WITH THE DEPARTMENT'S VIEW THAT SOME MENTION SHOULD BE
MADE OF THE SCHEEL LETTER.

6. CROMARTIE PRESENTED THE FOLLOWING DRAFT SC STATE-
MENT WHICH HE SAID HAD BEEN CLEARED IN LONDON: BEGIN
TEXT:

(1) BEGIN BRACKET HMG END BRACKET WELCOMES
THE APPLICATIONS OF THE FRG AND GDR FOR ENTRY INTO
THE UN AND HAS THEREFORE VOTED IN FAVOR OF THE RESOLU-
TION(S) BEFORE THE COUNCIL.

(2) THIS ACCORDS WITH THE QUADRIpartite DECLARATION
OF 9 NOVEMBER 1972, WHICH HAS BEEN TRANSMITTED TO THE
GOVERNMENTS OF THE TWO APPLICANT STATES AND ALSO TO THE
SECRETARY- GENERAL, AND CIRCULATED BY HIM TO ALL MEMBER
STATES. IN THIS DECLARATION, THE FOUR POWERS STATED
THAT THEY WOULD SUPPORT THE APPLICATIONS FOR UN MEMBER-
SHIP OF THE FRG AND GDR, AND AFFIRMED THAT THIS MEMBER-
SHIP WOULD IN NO WAY AFFECT THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILI-
TIES OF THE FOUR POWERS AND THE CORRESPONDING RELATED
QUADRIpartite AGREEMENTS, DECISIONS AND PRACTICES.

(3) ONE OF THESE AGREEMENTS WAS THE QUADRIpartite
AGREEMENT OF 3 SEPTEMBER 1971, BROUGHT INTO FORCE BY
THE FINAL QUADRIpartite PROTOCOL OF 3 JUNE 1972. THE
QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT, INTER ALIA, CONFIRMED ESTAB-
LISHED PROCEDURES FOR THE REPRESENTATION ABROAD OF THE
INTERESTS OF THE WSB, INCLUDING REPRESENTATION IN INTER-
NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THESE PRO-
CEDURES, THE BRITISH, FRENCH AND US GOVERNMENTS HAVE
AUTHORIZED THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FRG TO ACCEPT THE RIGHTS
AND OBLIGATIONS CONTAINED IN THE UN CHARTER WITH RESPECT
ALSO TO THE WSB AND TO REPRESENT THE INTERESTS OF THE
WSB IN THE UN AND ITS SUBSIDIARY ORGANS, EXCEPT WHERE
MATTERS OF SECURITY AND STATUS ARE AFFECTED. END TEXT.

7. THE US REP NOTED THAT THE DEPARTMENT DID NOT AGREE
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THAT A STATEMENT ON BERLIN SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE FIRST PRESENTATION MADE TO THE SOVIETS. HE ALSO THOUGHT THAT WE WOULD BE IN FAVOR OF A MORE GENERAL STATEMENT ALONG THE LINES PROPOSED RECENTLY BY BLECH (BONN 6306). THE US REP AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT THE QUESTION OF TREATMENT OF BERLIN WAS MOSTLY TACTICAL, SINCE ALL BONN GROUP MEMBERS WERE OF THE VIEW THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD WANT TO SAY SOMETHING ON THE SUBJECT. BLECH SAID THAT HE DID NOT FIND THE MANNER IN WHICH QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES HAD BEEN MENTIONED TO BE OBJECTIONABLE. HE ALSO STRONGLY OPPOSED EARLY MENTION OF REPRESENTATION OF BERLIN, BUT AGREED THAT THIS WAS MORE A TACTICAL THAN A SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEM.

8. CROMARTIE SAID HIS AUTHORITIES WONDERED IF ONLY ONE OF THE THREE POWERS SHOULD SPEAK ABOUT QRR AND BERLIN. THEIR VIEW WAS THAT IT WOULD SEEM A BIT SILLY FOR ALL THREE TO MAKE EXACTLY THE SAME STATEMENT. THE OTHER TWO COULD LIMIT THEMSELVES TO GENERAL REMARKS WELCOMING THE TWO GERMAN STATES INTO THE UN AND FORMALLY ASSOCIATING THEMSELVES WITH THE REMARKS OF THEIR COLLEAGUE. BLECH SAID THIS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE FRG AS LONG AS THE ALLY MAKING THE REMARKS WAS NOT CHOSEN ON THE BASIS OF WHO WAS ALLIED CHAIRMAN IN BERLIN. ALLIED REPS SAID THEY WOULD ASK FOR REACTIONS FROM THEIR

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AUTHORITIES.

9. CONTENT OF SC RESOLUTION: THE FRENCH AND UK REPS SAID THEIR AUTHORITIES AGREED WITH THE DEPARTMENT THAT A REFERENCE TO THE QD IN THE RESOLUTION WOULD BE IN OUR INTEREST BUT THAT WE SHOULD NOT RISK CONTROVERSY WITH THE SOVIETS ON THIS POINT. BLECH SAID THE FRG CONTINUED TO FEEL THAT EVERYTHING NECESSARY TO PROTECT THE ALLIED LEGAL POSITION HAD BEEN DONE. HE STRESSED THAT HIS OPPOSITION WAS BASED NOT ONLY ON WORRIES ABOUT CONTROVERSY WITH THE SOVIETS, BUT ALSO ON FRG OBJECTIONS TO SUCH A ONE- SIDED MENTION OF THE SPECIAL SITUATION IN GERMANY IN THE RESOLUTION (SEE PARA 4 (C), BONN 6324). HE PROMISED, HOWEVER, TO RAISE THE MATTER WITH HIS AUTHORITIES ONCE AGAIN.

10. BRIEFING OF OTHER SC MEMBERS: BONN GROUP REPS AGREED WITH DEPARTMENT' S VIEWS ON BRIEFING OTHER SC
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MEMBERS AND CHINESE. IT WAS ALSO RECALLED THAT A BRIEFING OF NATO MEMBERS HAD BEEN CONSIDERED. THERE WAS CONSENSUS THAT THE NATO BRIEFING SHOULD BE CONDUCTED AFTER A DECISION HAD BEEN REACHED ON TIMING OF APPLICATIONS. THIS WOULD PROBABLY BE IN THE FIRST WEEK OF JUNE.

11. EMBASSY COMMENT: WE TEND TO AGREE WITH OTHER BONN GROUP MEMBERS THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO APPROACH THE SOVIETS FIRST IN NEW YORK IN A FASHION AS LOW KEY AS POSSIBLE. MAY 26 WOULD SEEM TO BE A LOGICAL DATE, ALTHOUGH WE NOTE THAT THIS IS A SATURDAY AND THAT MONDAY MAY 28 IS THE MEMORIAL DAY HOLIDAY. THE BONN GROUP WILL TAKE UP THE UN QUESTION AT ITS NEXT MEETING ON MAY 22, AT WHICH TIME IT INTENDS TO CONCENTRATE ON THE QUESTION OF TIMING AND THE TACTICS OF THE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS.
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